







*Courtesy of Mr. J. B. Powell*

GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK AS CHAIRMAN OF THE  
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

# GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK: THE BUILDER OF NEW CHINA

BY

CHEN TSUNG-LI, WANG AN-TSIANG

AND

WANG I-TING

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

DR. CHEN TING T. WANG

AND A PREFACE BY

DR. WANG CHUNG-HUI

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## INTRODUCTION

I have much pleasure in responding to the invitation of the author to write a few words of introduction to his volume on "General Chiang Kai-shek: The Builder of New China."

Extraordinary times create extraordinary personalities, and by common consent it is admitted that General Chiang is an extraordinary personality. The way he marshaled the Nationalist armies and led them to victory from Canton to Shanghai and Hankow, and thence northward to almost the very walls of Peking reads like an epic from the annals of ancient Greece and Rome. His military genius and capacity for leadership were demonstrated anew in the rapidity with which he recently crushed the rebellion of the Kwangsi generals in central China.

While General Chiang will always be remembered for his lion's share in the unification of China, we should not overlook his achievements as the president of the National Government. As the nation is now entering upon the educative period of its development under the guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People," it is greatly to be hoped that President Chiang will be long spared to lead the country to



greater prosperity, to more intensive unification, and to more complete freedom and equality as an equal among equals in the Family of Nations.

CHENGTING T. WANG.

NANKING, JUNE 21, 1929.

## PREFACE

Messrs. Chen Tsung-hsi, Wang An-tsiang, and Wang I-ting propose to publish, in the near future, a book on the life and work of General Chiang Kai-shek which they wrote jointly. In compliance with the request of one of the co-authors, I am glad to write a few words as a preface.

Although I have not read the book, yet I have been sufficiently informed that it contains a great deal of interesting information concerning General Chiang in his early boyhood, in his student days in China and in Japan, in his various rôles as a military officer in the Revolution, and as a faithful adherent to and a loyal disciple of our late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

It is confidently hoped that the work, together with its appendix containing General Chiang's speeches, will be welcomed by many people who are anxious to know the life and work of the man who, in collaboration with the other leaders of the Kuomintang, is now shaping the destiny of our country.

WANG CHUNG-HUI.

JUNE 5, 1929.



## AUTHORS' PREFACE

General Chiang Kai-shek is the man of the hour. He has done for the Chinese what Kemal did for his compatriots in Turkey. His object has been to expel the militarists of the old régime of the north and to lead the Nationalist movement in establishing a modern type of government for China: and that he has done remarkably well within a short period of time. Foreign readers or students of China's national affairs may have read from newspapers the movements of the general; but much or perhaps most of the materials in the press about him has been piecemeal and partial. What we have tried to set forth in this book is a humble attempt to give our readers a fair, impartial account of what General Chiang's life has been, and of what he has done for China and her four hundred millions. That will, we hope, fill a long-felt need among the foreign friends who desire to know about the leading man of China, the president of the National Government.

We are greatly indebted to Dr. Chengting T. Wang, minister of foreign affairs, and Dr. Wang Chung-hui, president of the Judicial Yuan, for the Introduction and Preface, respectively; to General Ho Cheng-hsun, chairman of the Hupeh Provincial

Government, for his autographed inscription in eulogy of General Chiang; and to Mr. J. B. Powell, editor of the *China Weekly Review*, for his kind permission to use two photographs and certain speeches printed in English by that *Review*. To a foreign friend who has advised us about the form and style of our manuscript we also acknowledge our grateful thanks.

CHEN TSUNG-HSI,  
WANG AN-TSIANG,  
\* WANG I-TING.

NANKING, JUNE, 1929.

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# LIFE AND WORK



*Courtesy of Mr. J. B. Powell*

GENERAL AND MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK AFTER  
THEIR WEDDING

# GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK: THE BUILDER OF NEW CHINA

## LIFE AND WORK

### I. FAMILY

General Chiang Kai-shek has been successively a student, soldier, professor of military science and tactics, bank clerk and bond broker in Shanghai, secretary to the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Dr. Sun's chief of staff, commander in chief of the Nationalist armies, and president of the Nanking National Government. He was born in the village of Kikow (溪口村), Fenghwa district (奉化縣), Chekiang province, China, in 1888. When he was but three years old, his father passed away. At fifteen he was married to a girl who was officially divorced in 1927. Then in the fall of the same year he married Miss Soong May-ling (宋美齡), sister of Madame Sun Yat-sen.

General Chiang Kai-shek has an elder brother named Kai-ching (介卿), now commissioner of foreign affairs at Ningpo; a younger sister named Jui-lien (瑞蓮); and two sons—the elder of whom is now studying in Moscow.

## II. EDUCATION

### IN HIGHER PRIMARY SCHOOL

As a very small boy, General Chiang Kai-shek studied in his home village. When he was aged nine, he was sent by his beloved mother to Fêng Lu Higher Primary School (鳳麓高等小學), located in the city of Fenghwa. As he was too young to live alone in the school, he resided with relatives. He remained five years in the school with no remarkable record. Nevertheless, due to his liking for inquiry, he laid his foundation there.

### IN THE PAOTING MILITARY SCHOOL

In 1906, as a lad of eighteen, General Chiang gained recognition in the examinations of the Chekiang Provincial Government, and further pursued his studies at the Paoting Military School, Chihli (now called Hopei), where he made high marks as a student of infantry movements.

### IN THE TOKYO MILITARY COLLEGE

A year later, General Chiang was sent to Japan to study in the Tokyo Military College, where he remained four years. While in Japan he was connected with the Kuomintang, then called the Tung Mêng Hui (同盟會). Through this channel he made

acquaintance with noted revolutionists like Wang Ching-wei (汪精衛), Chen Chi-mei (陳其美), Liao Chung-kai (廖仲愷), Chang Chi (張繼), and some others. At one time the Tung Mêng Hui met in Tokyo with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as chairman. General Chiang, of course, attended the meeting and heard the address of the chairman. On hearing it, he became more radical and revolutionary. From that time forward, he did not delay in striving for the regeneration of China.

In college General Chiang did not like to associate with a close companion, but had many friends, regardless of nationality. He realized that friends from outside the school might be more useful to him and to his interests. Moreover, General Chiang made keen observation of everything Japanese, political and social, with deep impressions that strengthened his revolutionary purpose.

### III. THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1911)

Following the battle of Hwanghwakang (黃花岡) early in the spring of 1911 (March 29), the flame of revolution spread through the different provinces. Panic was in the midst of the mandarin officialdom. Wuchang fell at the sound of a single shot, as Jui Cheng (瑞徵), the viceroy, fled. The Manchus lost their heads and there was great disorder. It seems to us of these later days that it was all a stroke of Providence. The revolutionary "army" was small, weak, and scattered. The only fighting that would come to any account was brought about by a handful of "dare-to-die" troops.

In the meantime, news concerning the persecution of the revolutionists was received by the oversea Chinese with great indignation. Members of the Tung Mêng Hui, who were the nucleus of the Kuomintang several years later, gnashed their teeth in righteous rage. Chiang Kai-shek had then just finished his schooling. He at once returned to China, when he met the well-known helper of the revolutionists, Mr. Chen Chi-mei, with whom he stayed, awaiting instructions from his colleagues in arms.

The fall of Wuchang gave the revolutionists only a foothold, while the counterattack of the

Manchu troops on Hanyang and Hankow placed the initial victory in danger. So, to save the situation, the revolutionists, without much previous consultation with each other, simultaneously started the fight in different provinces. Chiang Kai-shek, who was then appointed commander of the Fifth Regiment, led three thousand men almost unopposed along the line of Hangchow, Wenchow (溫州), and Taichow (台州). A bloodless victory was not in accord with the zeal of a young commander of twenty-two. But he diverted his aims to the discipline of his small army, and so well did he accomplish this object that it was a cause of much astonishment and remark. Within a month, Chekiang came under the rule of the revolutionists, while soon the other provinces fell with the same fate. Chiang then led his troops back to Shanghai, where he lived for a period of comparative quietness.

His quietness in Shanghai was only that of a military lull. For when he met Mr. Chen Chi-mei again, he made it known to him that Shanghai—as a great port in the district of Chekiang and Kiangsu—would be a splendid place of supply and support. They at once organized the Tung Chi Shê (同濟社), with its aim of feeding the interior with funds and ammunition, as well as maintaining a garrison of well-seasoned troops for emergencies. This only proved his foresight. Hankow fell



again into the hands of the imperial troops. To make up for this loss, Chiang suddenly took over Shanghai; and when Hanyang fell again to the Manchus, Nanking was in turn captured. It was from such quick military movements that the formation of the Provisional Government in Nanking was made possible.

#### IV. THE SECOND REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1913)

In February, 1911, the Manchu emperor abdicated and, politically, the country came under republican rule. But the task of setting up a new governmental system was not so easy as it appeared. When the first brilliancy of the Provisional Government was over and when the government first came to face the solid reconstruction in this vast country, which hitherto had no thought nor basis for democratic rule, the revolutionists retired to private life. They left the helm of government in the hands of Yuan Shih-kai (袁世凱), who was largely instrumental in the abdication of the Manchu emperor and brought about the cessation of hostilities.

The formation of the Kuomintang, incidentally, came about the same time. For a long time the name of the Tung Mêng Hui was thought by some to be too narrow and restricting for the development of the party and the further enlistment of new members. A proposal was made to change the name into the Kuomintang. But Chiang Kai-shek, for reasons known only to himself, refused to share the views of the majority. Disappointed in the little support that was given to him, he retired to private life again.

Then came a period of rather riotous living, which few young men can escape. He was for the time working in the capacity of an instructor in General Chen Chi-mei's army. But his work was light, taking, on the average, two or three hours a day; and with a comfortable income which he was receiving there was much chance for moral degeneration. His friends, knowing his temper, and that persuasion would be futile, deplored this; and he would have gone from bad to worse, had it not been for the fact that the second revolutionary war started and kindled again the smoldering ashes of patriotism.

The second revolutionary war was a reaction against the growing domination of Yuan Shih-kai over the Republican Government. Yuan was weaving the dream of permanent domination. In 1913, the second year of the Republic, Sung Chiao-jen (宋教仁), a delegate from the South, was assassinated in the railway station at Shanghai. That was the last straw. For Yuan, by every expedient, including bribery, had been running for another term of presidency with General Li Yuan-hung (黎元洪) as vice president. Moreover, under the pretext of reconstruction, a huge loan was made, which finally found its way into Yuan's private account. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had resigned the presidency in favor of Yuan Shih-kai, found it necessary to protect the republican cause by force of arms.

A punitive expedition, led by Li Lieh-chun (李烈鈞), Wang Ke-chiang (黃克強), and others, was started simultaneously. Chiang Kai-shek, too, participated in the expedition. But the result of his riotous living began to tell. Moreover, his hasty and violent temper rendered coöperation with the others difficult. The revolution proved to be an abortion. The plans of Yuan were well arranged; the revolutionists were frustrated; Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek fled to Japan.

## V. PLOTS AND PREPARATION

With the failure of the second revolution in 1913, Dr. Sun Yat-sen saw the weakness of the Kuomintang organization. The Kuomintang was becoming more and more heterogeneous in its conglomeration, while elements with various motives mingled therein. Therefore, together with Chu Chih-hsin (朱執信), Li Lieh-chun, and Chiang Kai-shek, he began the reorganization of the party in Canton. This reorganization was to result in the collapse of Yuan's power.

In 1915, Yuan Shih-kai, designing to make himself emperor of China, concluded the treaty with Japan in which China was made to suffer under the humiliation of the Twenty-One Demands. In 1916, Yuan proclaimed himself emperor. But no sooner was he on the throne than revolt broke out in Yunnan under Tsai Sung-po (蔡松坡). It was more than a revolt. It was a revolution again, and a successful one. Simultaneously, the different provinces raised their standard against Yuan, and his short-lived empire collapsed like a pack of cards. Beneath the bustling and rush of the coronation there was a muffled earthquake. It was the work of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek, and a few others.

But how was the plot formed? The cycle of events was interesting General Chen Chi-mei, who

was at heart an active revolutionary member and under whom Chiang Kai-shek was working. Nothing could tempt him to swerve from his loyalty to his revolutionary principles. Yuan Shih-kai, of course, could not tolerate such a stumbling-block to his designs, and promptly dismissed him. Chiang was then free to join the reorganization of the party. He traveled about, here and there, with funds, resources, intrigues, and plots, all to frustrate Yuan's designs. Yuan did his best to avoid and eliminate his enemies, but he did not know that these men had been working to undermine the throne itself. A whiff of storm from the revolt of Yunnan, rising to the fury of a gale, threw the whole empire into the dust, where it remains as a shadowy pomp of yesterday.

Chiang Kai-shek's association with Dr. Sun Yat-sen had always been most intimate. The latter would listen to his advice implicitly, while the former served with great respect and sincerity. But Chiang is by nature obdurate. Not infrequently, too, he would fly into storms of temper before which few human beings can stand. Above all, he was self-opinionated, highly so. No one could endure him, and by degrees he became more and more disagreeable to his associates. A quarrel made his continuance in Canton no longer possible. In 1920 he left and went to Shanghai.

## VI. THE STOCK BROKER

His arrival at Shanghai was followed by hardship. Fortunately, he met a friend, a native of his home town, who advised him to go into business. It was then that General Chiang Kai-shek first entered the stock exchange as a broker.

In this field, he was peculiarly successful. An exchange boom was then in Shanghai, and in a few months—less than a year—he emerged a rich man.

Business success, however, was not Chiang's ambition. When Dr. Sun returned to Canton again from his trip abroad, Chiang went to visit him again. In February, 1923, he went to Canton, and Dr. Sun appointed him the chief of staff. It must be remembered that Dr. Sun had, by this time, established the Nationalist Government in Canton. In November of the same year he was sent as Dr. Sun's representative to visit Soviet Russia and study its military system. He returned to Canton in April of the following year and set out at once to organize the Whampao Military Academy, which, as it will be seen later, became the center of military training and formed the base of China's best armies. He went to Shanghai and recruited some of Lu Yung-hsiang's (盧永祥) defeated army. He instilled in them a new enthusiasm, a

new fighting spirit, and placed some with talent under special training. At one time he had in his school as many as eight hundred cadets and twenty-five hundred noncommissioned officers under special instruction. These he sent out to different armies in Canton to reorganize and consolidate them into an efficient fighting machine. Thus he staged a few bold strokes and made himself the master of Canton.



## VII. CHEN CHIUNG-MING TURNED JUDAS

Early in January, 1922, when Dr. Sun Yat-sen started the Northern expedition by way of Kwangsi, he met difficulties in his subordinate, General Chen Chiung-ming (陳炯明). Chen refused to coöperate in matters of supply, and in April of the same year Dr. Sun had to abandon his plan and withdraw his troops to Canton.

He then stripped Chen of his generalship and all other offices, and changed the course of the Northern expedition through Kiangsi, under Generals Li Lieh-chun and Hsu Chung-chih (許崇智).

Chen's intimate friend, General Yeh Chu (葉舉), escaped dismissal. General Chiang saw at once that he would be a thorn in the side, and strongly advised Dr. Sun to get rid of him as soon as possible. But Dr. Sun had faith in the better nature of man, and hoped that he, unlike Chen Chiung-ming, would remain loyal. Dr. Sun was soon disappointed. The little spark that was not promptly extinguished soon became a conflagration.

At 3 A. M. on June 16, 1922, the Hunan elements of the Second Division of Cantonese, under General Hung Chao-ling (洪兆麟), headed for the presidential headquarters. At the same time, bombardment was directed toward Yuehsiulou (粵秀樓), where

Dr. Sun had been residing. They had hoped to shoot and kill the president!

Fortunately, on the eve of the sixteenth, General Chiang got news of the uprising. He immediately rushed to rescue the president, who was calmer than ever, and both escaped safely in disguise.

An emergency meeting among those who had stood with Dr. Sun was immediately held in the navy headquarters, and following the proposals of Dr. Sun they embarked on the Chinese gunboats. They sailed for Whampao, not far from Canton, and prepared for the counterattack.

It was summer, and every one on board the gunboats—small crafts to begin with—had to endure much physical hardship. But General Chiang served the master he loved without a breath of murmur or a single complaint. He never spared himself in seeking information about the enemy, and worked shoulder to shoulder with the common sailors, sharing their dangers and death.

The counterattack was a failure. The struggle with the selfish militarists was hard and costly. Years later, General Chiang narrated those terrible days in a most touching human document. It is called "The Suffering of Dr. Sun Yat-sen at Canton."

## VIII. THE WHAMPAO MILITARY ACADEMY

The Whampao Military Academy had its origin in the first conference of the Kuomintang representatives, held in January, 1924. Repeated failures had deeply impressed upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen the necessity for a strong, united party supported by a strong fighting unit—a well-equipped and well-trained army which would fight for the cause. To accomplish this, thorough understanding of principles must be instilled into the minds of the noncommissioned officers and through them to the great mass of the troops. Such were the motives which lay behind the organization of the Whampao Military Academy.

On June 16, 1924, exactly two years after the defeat of Dr. Sun by the rebellious Chen Chiung-ming, Chiang Kai-shek was appointed to be the president of the newly organized Whampao Military Academy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen went personally to give the opening address. Great hopes were expressed, and new ambitions grew in many breasts.

The limit of enrollment was first fixed at three hundred, but over fifteen hundred applied. Of these, five hundred were received, after due examination, to be the first group of students. Upon

their graduation, another four hundred were admitted. So, by degrees, the number of well-trained military men increased and soon formed the most effective fighting unit that China has known since the days of her first revolution.

## IX. THIRD PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

The first battle in which the Whampoa cadets were engaged was that with the troops of General Chen Chiung-ming. It was a success—a success which came from intensive training of soldiers by graduates of the Academy. Victory was now possible regardless of the small size of the army. The cadets were only a negligible three thousand.

When General Chiang led his troops to the campaign, a great send-off was given to them by the populace of Canton. This was early in February, 1925. On the fourteenth of February, the conflicting armies met at Tamshui (淡水), and the troops of Chen Chiung-ming were repulsed after a severe engagement. On the nineteenth, the counterattack, under General Hung at Yangtangwei (羊塘圍), suffered a similar fate. Demoralization then crept into the armies of Chen. The other neighboring districts were captured without a shot. On March 16, Swatow fell into the hands of the cadets. Chen Chiung-ming made a hasty flight on board a gunboat of the Northern fleet.

In the meantime, a coup was planned against General Chiang: for success always breeds jealousy. The Kwangsi and Yunnan elements under Lin Hu (林虎) did not move during the whole conflict. They had aimed to attack the flank of General Chiang's

troops and to place the power in their own hands. But General Chiang saw this in time, and before the conspirators could act he directed a sudden blow at them at Meihu (梅湖), where the conspirators had pitched their camps. A stout resistance was put up, but after a severe twenty-four hours Lin was defeated. Thus the chaotic conditions of Kwangtung were reduced to order in a month.

## X. THE NORTHERN EXPEDITION (1926)

The so-called Northern expedition was motivated by the strong, sincere desire to free the Chinese people from the yoke of militarists. It did not mean that the Nationalist army found Canton insufficient to support the army, and so had to seek help from others.

Unlike the old-régime militarists, who fought for their selfish interests and sphere of territories, General Chiang Kai-shek launched the expedition with the sole purpose of finishing the work of the people's revolution, handed down by the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Kuomintang. In his twenty years' devotion Dr. Sun worked for a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Unfortunately, he died at Peking (now called Peiping) while Peking was still ruled by selfish militarists.

When Yuan Shih-kai was elected president of the Republic, he was a monarch at heart. He murdered the able minister Sung Chiao-jen, an act which enraged the Kuomintang members. Therefore General Li Lieh-chun revolted in Kiangsi; Hu Han-min (胡漢民), Pai Wen-wei (柏文蔚), Tan Yen-kai (譚延闓), Hsiung Ke-wu (熊克武), and others revolted in Kwangtung, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Hunan, and Szechwan. Yuan Shih-kai then asked Generals Li Shun (李純) and Chang Hsun (張勳) to "pacify" the

provinces in the Yangtze valley, and Lung Chikwang (龍濟光) to restrain Kwangtung. They guarded closely the activities of the Kuomintang. Many of the Kuomintang members then had to flee to foreign lands and become political refugees. Yuan Shih-kai was more ambitious than ever. He crowned himself as the emperor Hung Hsien (洪憲), but his reign was brief and useless. After Yuan Shih-kai's death, Li Yuan-hung was elected president, with Tuan Chi-jui (段祺瑞) as premier. It was chiefly through Tuan that the notorious Nishihara loan was arranged. Tuan dissolved the Parliament. For this reason Dr. Sun went to Canton and established the Constitutional Government there, and tried to start a Northern expedition. But the tuchuns (military governors) in the southwestern provinces were indifferent to that, and the expedition failed. The Kweichow soldiers, led by Tan Hao-min (譚浩明), formed a league with the Northern tuchuns and defeated Ling Hsiu-mei (林修梅) and Liu Chien-fan (劉建藩) of the Nationalist army of Hunan. That was the second failure of the Nationalist army to achieve a Northern expedition.

While Dr. Sun was generalissimo at Canton, he perceived that the Kweichow elements were too selfish; so he left there and came to Shanghai. He returned to Canton at the time when General Chen Chiung-ming went back from the Fukien campaign. He asked General Tan Yen-kai and



Li Lieh-chun to fight with Kiangsi, and intrusted Chen Chiung-ming with affairs at the base. But Chen Chiung-ming later turned out a Judas, and on that critical midnight of June 16, 1922, Chen attacked the generalissimo's headquarters. Dr. Sun and General Chiang Kai-shek had to flee to the warship *Yung Fong* (永豐) (now called *Chung Shan*, 中山), and they wired to General Li Lieh-chun for help. General Li, who was then crossing the difficult Ta Yü Pass (大庾嶺), returned to rescue the generalissimo from danger. The Northern expedition failed for the third time.

Dr. Sun then came to Shanghai. He asked General Chiang to retreat to Fukien and to prepare for attack in the future. Later, Chen Chiung-ming was ousted by Yang Hsi-ming (楊希閔), tuchun of Kweichow. Dr. Sun returned to Canton, and reassumed the position of generalissimo. The Northern tuchuns at that time could be divided into three groups: Anhwei, Fengtien, and Chihli. Anhwei and Fengtien were opposed to Chihli, but were friendly to the Kuomintang, and there were a number of Kuomintang members among the Anhwei and Fengtien groups.

In 1924 the Kuominchun rose in the North. Wu Pei-fu (吳佩孚) was defeated by the Fengtien army. General Feng Yu-hsiang (馮玉祥) victoriously captured Peking and imprisoned Tsao Kun (曹錕), the corrupt president who had been elected through

bribery. That made a complete change in the national affairs of China. The Northern soldiers, who were friendly to the Kuomintang, telegraphed to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, asking him to come to Peking to discuss the future of China. That was the temporary downfall of the chief tuchuns of the old régime, but the minor tuchuns rose and fought each other for selfish interests. The military affairs in Kiangsi were always a knotty problem: Kweichow was still ruled by Chao Cheng-liang (趙成樑), an old-régime tuchun. The Nationalist army in Hunan was defeated; Fan Chung-hsiu (樊鍾秀) had to retreat. That caused the failure of the Northern expedition for the fourth time.

Dr. Sun died before he saw the success of the Northern expedition. There were causes for delay of the expedition: (1) General Liu Chen-huan (劉鎮寰) and Yang Hsi-ming had formed a league with British imperialists at Hongkong, and Tang Shen-chi (唐生智) was still a pro-North general. (2) There were insincere revolutionaries who wished to overthrow the Nationalist Government, as evidenced in the assassination of Liao Chung-kai; General Chiang had to clear up the issue, before he could launch the expedition. (3) After the death of Liao Chung-kai, Chen Chiung-ming and Hung Chao-ling planned to regain what they had lost. And this necessitated the expulsion of anti-revolutionary elements.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the party a motion was passed for the launching of the Northern expedition, and General Chiang was elected commander in chief of the Nationalist army for that purpose. He was empowered to engage and dismiss all military officials and to work out all military plans relative to the Northern expedition. General Chiang formally assumed the office of commander in chief on June 9, 1926. The ceremony was very elaborate. Fifty thousand people were present on that day. Among those present were Wu Chih-hui (吳稚暉), Chang Ching-kiang (張靜江), Madame Ho Hsiang-ning (何香凝), Kan Nan-kwang (甘乃光), and Chen Kung-po (陳公博), of the Central Executive Committee; and Tan Yen-kai, Sun Fo (孫科), T. V. Soong (宋子文), and Eugene Chen (陳友仁), of the Nationalist Government. Mr. Wu Chih-hui, representing the Central Executive Committee, handed to General Chiang a flag on which was written this phrase: "Down with Militarism, the tool of foreign Imperialism." Immediately after the general received this flag, he gave the following vow:

"I shall faithfully carry out the Three Principles of the People, obey the orders of my superior officials, protect the nation, and discharge my duty as a soldier."





GENERAL CHIANG ON HORSEBACK

## XI. THE CHAIN OF CONQUESTS

### HUNAN



When General Wu Pei-fu heard that General Tang Shen-chi of Hunan had surrendered to the Nationalists and had driven out Chao Heng-tih, (趙恆惕) he was very wroth. He moved Yeh Kai-hsing (葉開鑫) to press against Tang, but of no avail. On the dawn of July 10, after Yeh Kai-hsing had learned at Hsiangtan (湘潭) that Chiang Chu-ou (蔣鈞歐) and Fang Tien-chia (方殿甲) had retreated and the latter's five hundred guards had surrendered to the Nationalists, he fled in haste. The commander in chief, having received excessive reports of the victory at Hunan, proceeded to Changsha himself. He left on July 26 for Hunan, and asked Chang Ching-kiang to take charge of the Central Party Standing Committee and Tan Yen-kai to take charge of the Central Political Assembly, while the commander in chief was away. General Chiang brought with him many kinds of propaganda literature and posters. On the eve of his departure for Hunan, he assured the important members of the Kuomintang that he would, in accordance with the plans of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, get rid of the Northern militarists completely. General Chiang arrived in Hunan on the fifth of August, and made his headquarters at a Presbyterian hospital at

Hengchow (衡州). He stayed there for two days and came to Changsha on the twelfth. Many came out to see him as a Messiah.

A decisive battle was fought at Pingkiang district (平江縣), an important section on the north-eastern border of Hunan. Four armies on the enemy side were stationed there: those of Chen Chia-mo (陳家謨), Han Tsai-feng (韓彩鳳), Chou Chi (周荻), and Loh Yun (陸濤). The last was the bravest, but later he was unable to resist the Nationalists, and committed suicide. The other three either fled or surrendered to the Nationalists.

### HUPEH

Having taken Hunan, the commander in chief now proceeded to Hupeh. The warfare began on August 26. General Wu Pei-fu and Liu Yu-chun (劉玉春) had their army stationed at Hoshêngchiao (賀勝橋), a district lying to the north of Yenninghsien (咸寧縣). At Taolingpu (桃林鋪) a severe battle was fought on the twenty-ninth from dark till dawn. On the morning of the thirtieth, Hoshêngchiao was occupied by the Nationalists, and General Wu Pei-fu fled to Wuchang. The commander in chief tried to take Wuchang, but sustained a great loss. So he decided to attack Hanyang, the most important city of Wu-Han. He asked Generals Ho Yin-ching (何應欽) and Hsia Tou-ying (夏斗寅) to march from Tengkow (沌口),

Pachow (蘄州), and cross the Yangtze to Tsaitien (蔡甸). The attack began on September 5. In the meanwhile, there were plain-clothes soldiers that had been hiding in the neighborhood of Kweishan Arsenal (龜山兵工廠), where Wu Pei-fu's army, led by Kao Shu-tung (高汝桐) and Yen Yueh-jen (閻曰仁), was stationed. General Liu Tso-lung's (劉佐龍) artillery shot forth from the foot of Kweishan; Hangyang was taken by the Nationalists, and Wu Pei-fu fled with Ching Yun-ao (靳雲鵬). At that time, Liu Yu-chun was still guarding the closed gates at Wuchang. Commander in chief Chiang sent representatives from the citizens to General Liu Yu-chun to persuade him to yield, but he would not listen. So the attack was renewed. And on the twenty-fourth of October, the city was taken, and the obstinate general was caught.

## KIANGSI

General Sun Chuan-fang (孫傳芳), then inspecting commissioner of Chekiang, Kiangsu, and Anhwei, saw that Wu Pei-fu was defeated by the Nationalists. He wished to get revenge for Wu Pei-fu. For this reason, General Chiang had to proceed to Kiangsu, so he made his headquarters at Pinghsiang (萍鄉). Representatives from five provinces begged General Chiang for peace. The general replied that if Sun Chuan-fang would not break out



fighting, he would not. In the meantime, General Sun Chuan-fang sent a telegram to Chiang, urging him to retreat within twenty-four hours. To that, General Chiang replied that it was difficult for him to do, for fear that the enemy would overtake him in the rear.

The attack on Nanchang was a difficult engagement. General Chiang, knowing that Tang Sheng-chi has already evacuated Nanchang, asked Chen Chien (程潛) to attack it on the midnight of August 13. The people at Nanchang did not expect the attack so suddenly. General Lu Hsiang-ting (盧香亭) was guarding at the north gate of Nanchang, and wished to cross the Kung River (贛江). But the Nationalists were warned. The two armies met and fought for two days and nights. Teng Ju-cho (鄧如琢), of the Allied forces, returned for help from Changshu (樟樹), where he sustained defeat. The Nationalists now could not stand, and had to retreat temporarily before the second attack. When the Nationalists had nearly taken Linan City (臨安), the Allies sent a foreign missionary to seek for an armistice. The Nationalists took his words but were really fooled by the Allies: for the minute the Nationalists had retreated, General Chen Chun-yen (鄭俊彥) of the Allies entered the city and guarded it. That necessitated the third attack on Nanchang.

There was a strong rumor of the death of General Chiang Kai-shek. Why there was such a rumor is interesting to know, and we may learn it from a soldier who fought at Nanchang with Chiang. The soldier reported in this way:

One day, the Allied army caught three spies of the Nationalists. They were court-martialed. After the trial, the spies told the Allied generals that General Chiang was at headquarters; and the spies gave them the secret password for entrance to headquarters. The Allied army then sent five hundred volunteers with Nationalist uniforms, wishing to enter the camp of General Chiang to murder him. But they were discovered at the second pass. General Chiang immediately sent his guards and attacked the brave five hundred. Out of the five hundred, only thirty odd returned and they declared to their general that Chiang was wounded, and had died.

For two months the Allied army were guarding Kiukiang and Nanchang and General Chiang craftily let it be understood that the Central army had been transferred to Tehan (德安). The Allies believed the truthfulness of the report, and sent a group of soldiers to attack Wusüeh (武穴) and Hwangchow (黃州). That was what General Chiang had expected. He asked Chen Ming-shu (陳銘樞) to concentrate his forces at Yangsing (陽新) to meet Ho Yao-tsu's (賀耀組) army there.

Chen had an easy victory over Ho. When Yeh Ching-chung (葉景崇), of the Allied army, received the alarming news of Ho's defeat, he came with his soldiers for rescue, but of no use, and so was defeated. General Chou Feng-chi's (周鳳岐) soldiers were also defeated on the morning of the fourth of November, at Shihlipu (十里鋪), only one mile from Kiukiang. General Chiang came out in person and fought with Lu Hsiang-ting. The casualties amounted to three thousand soldiers of the Nationalists, but of the Allies there were six thousand.

#### CHEKIANG AND ANHWEI

Though Sun Chuan-fang sustained defeat in Kiangsi, he formed a league with the Fengtien-Shantung militarists to keep hold of Kiangsu and Chekiang. The Nationalist army held two council meetings with Chang Ching-kiang and Tan Yen-kai. In the meanwhile, the Shantung soldiers had been advancing toward Anking, Anhwei, and Meng Chao-yueh's (孟昭月) soldiers toward Hangchow. The situation was critical. General Chiang therefore asked Generals Tang Shen-chi, Chen Ming-shu, Chang Fah-kwei (張發奎), Li Tsung-jen (李宗仁), and Ho Yao-tsu to defend strictly their respective fields. General Chiang also asked Wang Chun (王俊), of the eastern front, and Chen Chi-cheng (陳繼承) to advance toward Chekiang

by the way of east Kiangsi, and Ho Yin-ching and Lai Shih-hwang (賴世璜) to advance to Chekiang via Yenping (延平), Fukien. He asked, too, Mr. Kuo Mei-ju (郭沫若) to organize propagandists for the soldiers in the front.

Thus ends another stage of our narrative of Chiang Kai-shek, the man that has done more, perhaps, than any other man among the Nationalists in ousting the militarists of the old régime. What General Chiang would do for the four hundred million citizens of the nation of course remained to be seen.

## XII. THE NANKING INCIDENT

In March of 1927, Nanking, now the capital of the National Government, was captured by the Nationalist army. At that time the uncontrolled advance guards, in the midst of disorder and confusion, together with the local riffraff, at the instigation of communists, daringly plundered the foreign consulates in Nanking, also the residences of foreign nationals, and even went to the extent of killing and injuring consular officials and other foreign nationals. This, of course, was a regrettable matter. General Chiang, with no hesitation took up the problem and declared: "In all matters pertaining to foreign relations, the Nanking Government is willing to deal fairly and sincerely if the Powers do not in any way impede the Nationalist Revolution." In addition, he made the following statements :

1. "All discussions must be entered into on the initiative of the Nationalist Government, without coercion from outside or unconditional demands ;
2. "All questions pertaining to the settlement of the case must be discussed in a spirit of equality."

### XIII. THE BREAK BETWEEN NANKING AND HANKOW

The split of Nanking and Hankow was generally known in April, 1927, when Hankow, then a den of communists under the direction of Michael Borodin, openly opposed General Chiang and suspended military supplies to him for the Northern expedition. Such a pressing situation forced the general to fight against the communists. He then first denounced Borodin. Later, in the summer of the same year, it seemed desirable that he should retire, but in retiring he still intended to continue working for the upbuilding of the Kuomintang and the establishment of the principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He made a patriotic proclamation of great political significance: "I am willing to sacrifice my position in order to assist in the unification of the party and to make possible the accomplishment of the chief objects of the Kuomintang."

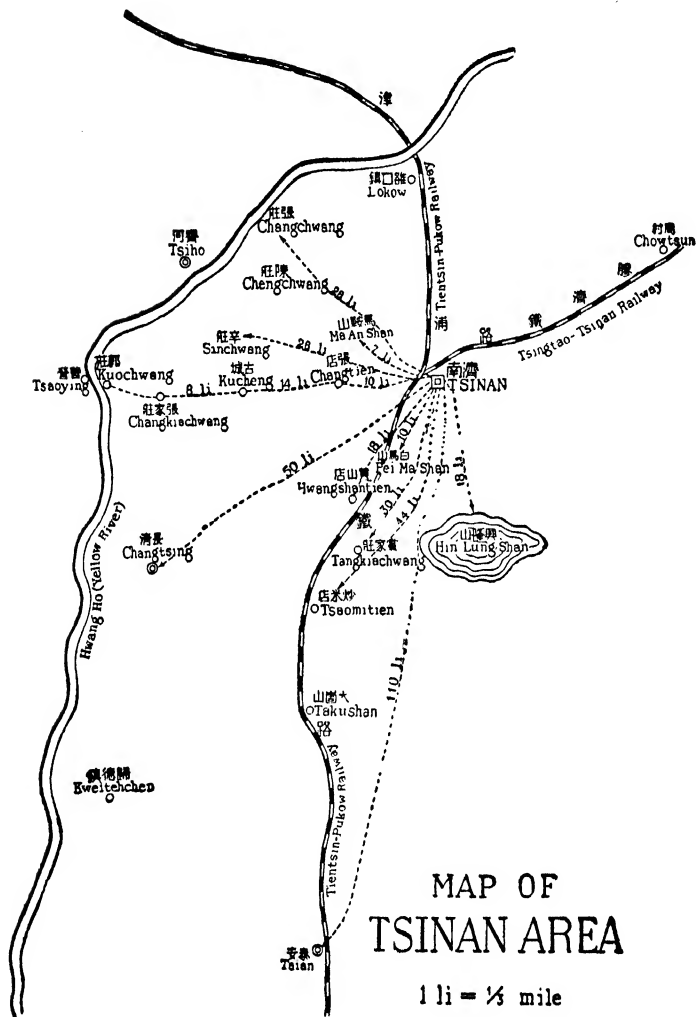
A few months later, on January 4, 1928, General Chiang, upon the request of the people and the government authorities, resumed his position but promised to resign following the conclusion of the Northern campaign.

## XIV. THE FOURTH PLENARY SESSION (1927)

A month from the resumption of office by the general, the Fourth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee was held at Nanking under his capable direction. Although the meeting lasted only one week, yet it proved to be most effective in that many important problems confronting the government at that time were solved without friction. Following the conference, the Northern expedition commenced its final drive against Peking, leading to the elimination of the Northern militarists and bringing about the unification of China.







# MAP OF TSINAN AREA

1 li = 1/4 mile

## XV. THE TWO CAMPAIGNS IN SHANTUNG

Two campaigns were undertaken in Shantung. In the first campaign, from May to July, 1927, General Chiang Kai-shek had advanced practically to the line of the Shantung Railway, where the Japanese troops were stationed. But owing to the threat of the Wu-Han Government to attack Nanking, General Chiang was forced to evacuate Shantung and drop back toward the Yangtze in order to protect his home base.

In the second campaign the so-called Tsinan tragedy occurred. On May 2, 1928, when the Nationalist soldiers began to come into the city of Tsinan, the Japanese, once more in the name of protecting their lives and property, shut them out by refusing them the right of way on the main route along the so-called commercial area outside the city, where many Japanese soldiers were stationed. Next morning the news of the killing of a Chinese official and the arrest of the street lecturers was heard. But it was soon suppressed by General Chiang for fear that it might stir up the troops and the people. At midnight of the same day some Japanese soldiers broke into the house of Mr. Tsai Kung-shih (蔡公時), commissioner of foreign affairs for Shantung, ransacked the place, and needlessly shot Mr. Tsai and several others.

Later, they also killed a number of onlookers. Even at such a momentous juncture General Chiang still wrote: "Avoid conflict at all cost. All soldiers return to their original stations."

On May 3 General Chiang sent General Hsiung Shih-hui (熊式輝), now garrison commander of Shanghai and Woosung, to negotiate with General Fukuda's chief of staff. While the negotiation was in progress, the Japanese soldiers fired and destroyed the Chinese wireless station. The next day, more destruction was done. General Chiang then consulted with the American and British consuls for mediation, but the Japanese blocked the effort. Later, on May 6, the general dispatched Chao Shih-hsuan (趙世暄) to see General Fukuda, who, the next day, handed to Mr. Chao the so-called ultimatum, which contain the following points:

1. Punishment of high military officers responsible.
2. Disarming of all Nationalist troops who molested Japanese in the presence of the Japanese army in Tsinan.
3. Evacuation of all Nationalist troops stationed at Sinchwang (莘莊) and Changkiachwang (張家莊), within twelve hours.
4. Prompt prohibition of anti-Japanese propaganda.
5. Clearing of all Nationalist armies from the area within twenty li of Tsinan and within twenty li along the Tsinan-Tsingtau Railway.

To these points General Chiang replied in the following statements:

1. Punishment will be duly meted out to those who are found guilty. But guilty Japanese officers and soldiers should be similarly dealt with.
2. Stern measures have already been taken to suppress anti-Japanese propaganda.
3. Nationalist troops will be temporarily withdrawn from Tsinan, with the exception of a small detachment of soldiers who will remain to maintain order and afford general protection.
4. For the time being, Nationalist troops will not be stationed within the twenty-li limit along the Tsinan-Tsingtau Railway, but communication shall be maintained along the Tientsin-Pukow Railway, so that there shall be no obstruction whatever to the military transportation of the Nationalist forces.
5. Orders for evacuation have been issued to the Nationalist soldiers stationed at Changkiachwang and Sinchwang.
6. All Nationalist soldiers held and disarmed by the Japanese shall be released and their arms and munitions returned.

On seeing that his reply was not satisfactory to General Fukuda, General Chiang then sent

General Ho Chen-hsun (何成濬), chief councilor, to see Fukuda again. But unfortunately he was placed under strict surveillance. On May 10 Tsinan was taken by the Japanese. It was returned to China on May 5, 1929, after prolonged negotiation between Dr. C. T. Wang, the Chinese minister of foreign affairs, and Mr. Yashizawa (芳澤), the Japanese minister to China.





GENERAL CHIANG KAI-SHEK DURING THE  
CAMPAIGNS OF 1927-1928

## XVI. MILITARY REORGANIZATION

When Peking was occupied by the Nationalist armies, General Chiang tried to fulfill his pledge of resignation. Therefore, he again petitioned the government to relieve him of his duties as commander in chief and also as chairman of the Military Council. The government immediately rejected his petition and instructed him to remain in office.

Then, at the end of June, 1928, General Chiang left the capital for Peking, arriving there on July 3. In Peking many important conferences were held, chiefly concerning army reduction. Generals Feng Yu-hsiang and Yen Hsi-shan also participated. General Chiang further proposed that a special military rehabilitation conference be convened by the government with the special purposes of formulating a disbandment scheme, determining the number of soldiers and the military expenditure, and dividing the country into a definite number of military districts.



## XVII. THE FIFTH PLENARY SESSION

(1928)

The Fifth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang was the first conference of great political significance after the unification of China. It opened at Nanking, August 8, 1928, and lasted about eight days. It passed many important resolutions such as the reorganization of the government and the inauguration of the five-council system. On one occasion during the session, General Chiang Kai-shek made a report, which reads:

“As a means to avoid conflicts, those having military power should make a public avowal that, despite difference in political views, they shall never resort to the use of arms to fight one another. The National army shall hereafter only be used for the defense of the country and the suppression of bandits, but shall never fight internal wars. If this principle is strictly adhered to, political differences among those in power will not develop into serious conflicts involving the whole country.

“Pursuant to the principle of government by the party, the Nationalist Government is organized by the Kuomintang, and therefore is not to come into conflict with the party. This, however, is

only true in theory, for, as a matter of fact, differences often develop between government authorities and party members. But party members, when dissatisfied with any branch of the National administration, should first advance their views in a friendly spirit in the expectation that they will be accepted. Failing this, they may try the proper course through party headquarters. When such a measure again fails, pressure may be brought to bear upon the Central Executive Committee of the party to reorganize the whole government. The important principle to be adhered to is that on no occasion shall party members attempt directly to interfere with the administration of the government."

## XVIII. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Now the Northern expedition was successfully brought to an end, and the nation was thus unified. According to the plans of national reconstruction, the organization of the Chinese government was to consist of five *yuan*. General Chiang was elected to the chairmanship of the National Government. One month after his election to the chairmanship, on the eighth of November, 1928, he made a tour along the provinces of Kiangsu, Anhwei, Shantung, and inspected his army, and investigated the local conditions there. He was welcomed wherever he went. At Anking, the capital of Anhwei, he called a meeting of different magistrates and discussed with them the reform of the magistrate system. The meeting lasted nearly one month, and then he returned on the first of December.

### DISBANDMENT OF TROOPS

Chairman Chiang is a man of vision. He saw the importance of disbandment of soldiers now that the nation was unified. His suggestion of disbandment gained loyal support from the different leading military leaders. The meeting convened

on the fifth of January, 1929, and closed on the seventeenth. Seventeen resolutions were passed, the most important being to abolish all posts of group commanders in chief and other high military commanders established during the war, and to put all armies under the unified command of a commission on disbandment. The conference decided to divide the task of disbandment into six regions geographically. The general program fixed the National army at sixty-five divisions, totaling approximately eight hundred thousand men (half of the present number of soldiers) at the annual expenditure of \$192,000,000. Three principal measures of disbandment will be employed: (1) all officials and soldiers who are judged too old, and those who wish to return to their former occupations, will be retired on pension according to their rank; (2) all officers above the rank of major, who are properly qualified and wish to pursue further studies of specialization, will be awarded a scholarship to study abroad or in the country, according to their qualifications; (3) the surplus minor officers will be trained as supervisors or overseers in the government's various construction schemes, such as river conservancy, reclamation, afforestation, road building, and engineering enterprises.

## EXPEDITION AGAINST THE KWANGSI ELEMENTS

The so-called Kwangsi faction has always been troublesome to the National Government. Its leaders are Generals Li Tsung-jen, Pei Chung-hsi, (白崇禧) and Li Chi-chen (李濟森). They had been preparing for war for days. They dismissed with force General Lu Tiao-ping (魯滌平), chairman of the Hunan Provincial Government, appointed by the Central Government. They mobilized troops on the upper valley of the Yangtze. That act, which is contrary to the rules of the government, violates the unity of the powers of the Central Government. General Chiang, as chairman of the State Council, could not let the illegal act go. For that reason he asked his chief of staff, General Ho Cheng-hsun, to proceed to Peking to organize a naval-army-aëronautic headquarters there; while he himself, immediately after the close of the Third National Congress, held March 18-28, sailed by the *Chu-yu* battleship for the upper valley of the Yangtze to direct the fighting.

Before he set forth for the expedition, he said that he would in the course of a week "pacify" the situation. His prophecy came true, for not more than a week after, the Kwangsi army had to retreat from Hankow toward Hunan. General Chiang reached Hankow on April 5, where he maintained the peace and order of that city. He abolished exorbitant taxes, such as the business excise.

The people of Hupeh gave him a hearty welcome. On the twenty-fifth he went to Changsha, Hunan, and returned to Hankow on April 27. At Hankow, he issued an important declaration saying that only the chief rebels would be punished, not their soldiers. He also sent out a telegram message, the chief topics of which are: (1) that the people of the nation should give their loyal support to the Central Government, and (2) that he would resign and go abroad, as soon as the general conditions should become settled. He left Hankow on the thirtieth and reached Nanking on the first of May. On the seventh he issued a manifesto that peaceful unification is the only policy of the National Government. On the ninth he was elected chairman of the political council.

#### THE STATE BURIAL OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN

On May 27, Chairman Chiang Kai-shek left for Pengpu (蚌埠), Anhwei, to welcome the train that carried the remains of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. While in Pengpu, he inspected the newly organized first army, and the soldiers of the Forty-Fourth and Forty-Fifth divisions. When the special train arrived at Pengpu, he returned to Nanking on the twenty-eighth. On the morning of the thirty-first he received the representatives of eighteen powers. In a speech, he expressed his appreciation of the courtesy on the part of the powers in sending

plenipotentiary delegates to attend the state burial ceremonies of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The dean of the Diplomatic Body, Sir W. J. Oudendijk, minister for the Netherlands, responded on behalf of the foreign representatives. On June 3, the foreign ministers, K. Yoshizawa, of Japan, and Herr von Borch, of Germany, presented their credentials to Chairman Chiang Kai-shek.

### THE POLICY OF PEACE

General Chiang's policy as chairman of the National Government is that of peace—peace at any price. He believes strongly that if China has a fairly long spell of peace, her national and international problems will solve themselves. That is a sound policy and has support of all the elements in the Kuomintang, except the Lefts, of course. He realized that in the period of national reconstruction foreign help is necessary. For this reason, he has invited a host of foreign advisers: the German Bauer, for military affairs and industrialization of the army (he died of smallpox on May 6, 1929, at Shanghai); the Frenchman Padoux, for law; and the long line of Americans in the Kemmerer Mission—Waddell and Norman, for the Ministry of Railway, and Murphy and Goodrich, for engineering enterprises.

This ends our brief sketch of General Chiang Kai-shek. In a true sense he has done wonderfully well for the Chinese. He came from the

walks of a common citizen. He is a man of deeds. He is still young and energetic. Let us hope that he will do more for China in the years to come, for really there is much to be done in this great land.





# SIGNIFICANT SPEECHES

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## SIGNIFICANT SPEECHES

### I. THE GOAL OF THE REVOLUTION AND THE IMPORTANCE OF COÖPERATION

Our comrades of the party, as well as outsiders, have lately directed various personal criticisms against me. Some say that I have lately become too weak, lacking in thoroughness and courage as required of a person determined upon the complete extermination of any evil influence in the country ; others charge me with unfairness in the discharge of my duties, saying that I have been unable to differentiate between right and wrong, the guilty and the meritorious. Still others allege that since the conclusion of the Northern expedition I have become too much bent on compromise, and seem to reveal a tendency towards steering a middle course and an inclination to be overlenient to officials of the old régime. There are also others who maintain that I should not assume a laissez-faire policy. But my critics have failed to understand how I have come to assume the attitude I am holding now.

I dare assert that I have never swerved from my revolutionary stand, nor have I overlooked our national and social welfare. The reason why I have always maintained such an attitude is

because of the following convictions, which have come to me through personal experience :

First, the revolution was primarily directed against imperialistic aggression, which is fundamentally detrimental to our national interests and is opposed to the tendencies of our revolution.

Second, internal solidarity is the fundamental condition to the successful progress of the revolution.

Not until the nation is united under the Three Principles of the People can we strive for racial preservation, and not until solidarity is achieved within the Kuomintang can the party lead the people in the revolution for national salvation.

It may be recalled that before the commencement of the Northern expedition, most of our comrades were in Canton. It was then possible for Borodin, under instructions from the Third International, to incite the communists—parasites of our party—to create trouble and to intimidate and oppress our party in various ways; and I bore the brunt of their machinations. After the capture of Wuchang and Hankow, the policy of Borodin and his group produced even greater results, and their intrigues became more conspicuous. Indeed, words are inadequate to describe the sufferings I experienced under their tyranny and through the attempts at creating differences among us. As a rule, whenever

our solidarity was threatened, it furnished a fresh opportunity for further aggression by outside influences. Having discovered wherein lay the weakness and the strength of the Chinese revolution, Soviet imperialism attempted to achieve its own ends at the expense of the Nationalist revolution and of the Chinese people. It attempted, on the one hand, to destroy the solidarity of our party, and, on the other, to create trouble when solidarity was impaired. These events occurred about two years ago, but even now they remain as vivid in my mind as if they happened but yesterday.

True, the Tsinan incident last May is regarded by the entire nation as an unparalleled humiliation, but the humiliation which we actually experienced at the front was beyond the imagination of our people. While we fully realized that Japanese provocations were conclusive evidence of the fundamental conflict between imperialism and the Nationalist revolution, yet we could not but bear them patiently in order to avoid the setbacks to the revolution that were intended for us. Not only did the Japanese fail to treat China as a sovereign nation, but they did not even treat our people as human beings. We were then obliged to restrain our passions and to bear what was really intolerable.

Since that time, I have keenly realized that the ultimate opponent of the Nationalist revolution is

imperialism. The overthrowing of a few militarists in the course of the revolutions, in fact, does not mean much ; for the final success of the Nationalist revolution lies in the thorough awakening and permanent solidarity of our comrades of the party and in their full assumption of responsibility to carry on the work of the revolution.

All unnecessary destruction of military power, financial ability, and resources of the people should, by all means, be absolutely avoided. As to the comrades of our party, it is not only their duty to lead and direct the revolution, but also to exert their utmost to uphold the dignity and strengthen the solidarity of the party. All differences within the party should be sacrificed to the greater end. All conflicts should be smoothed out ; all sufferings and hardships should be patiently endured ; and lastly, all unfairness and injustice should be calmly borne.

At present, we must at all cost stand united to defend ourselves against foreign insults and to wipe away our national humiliation ; strict adherence to our late leader's bequeathed instructions, with the least deviation therefrom—apart from this, all other matters can be compromised and endured.

Therefore, when people criticize me as being too weak, not thorough, too much inclined to compromise, or even unjust, I calmly bear with

them. I can only show myself in practical measures that I will, from beginning to end, devote my energies for the cause of the revolution. This is my personal opinion of present conditions of the party and the country, and I hope my comrades and fellow countrymen will concur with me.



## II. FOREIGN POLICY

It is a well-known fact that the independence of China is a matter seriously involving the world's peace. For the past years militarists have been waging an incessant civil war in China with the financial support of the imperialists. With the imperialists at their backs the militarists are continuing to exploit the country and oppose the Nationalist revolutionary army, thereby prolonging the period of turmoil in the country. Continuous warfare not only makes the Chinese people suffer, but foreigners feel the pinch as well, owing to the disorderly conditions here. This state of affairs should not exist any longer. The militarists, seeing that their days are numbered, may enlist the support of imperialists in exchange for sovereign rights of China. With this international intrigue going on, the balance of power in the Far East would soon be broken, thus giving rise to fresh ambitions of the powers. Unless this state of affairs is successfully avoided, a second world war will naturally occur soon. This war, in case it actually takes place, will be fought in the Far East, with the Chinese territory as the battlefield.

All these are due to the unscrupulous exploitations of the militarists. Unless they are done

away with, there will be no hope of seeing peace and order reestablished in China. It is with this aim in view that the Nationalist army is now fighting against the militarists.

It must be mentioned here that while the Nationalist forces are conducting the campaign against militarists, all our friendly powers are requested to hold themselves aloof from interfering in China's affairs. What we are now demanding is freedom and equality for the masses, which rightfully belong to the people. As this is a liberty war, foreign nations have no right to interfere.

During the present campaign the Nationalist army will give every protection to foreign lives and property, and there will be no antiforeign movement in any part of the Nationalist territory. But, on the other hand, I am expecting our friendly powers to stop supplying the militarists with arms and ammunition.

We will regard those nations who support the Nationalist revolution in China as our friends, while those who obstruct the progress of the revolution will get nothing but the hatred of the Chinese masses.

### III. DECLARATION TO THE KUOMINTANG MEMBERS

#### INTRODUCTION

I have never considered personal danger since I took command, under oath, of the Northern expedition. Bearing the will of Dr. Sun in mind, I have realized that my duty is to lessen the misery of the masses and bring the revolution to a successful conclusion.

Due to the efforts of my party comrades and the bravery of those in uniform, after a few months the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, Anhwei, and Kiangsu were captured one by one. After we had occupied Shanghai and Nanking, the whole Yangtze valley was under the flag of the white sun in the blue field. The complete success of the Nationalist revolution will be accomplished at no distant date.

#### THE CAUSES OF INTERNAL DISSENSION IN THE KUOMINTANG

While we were fighting the enemies in front, however, the treacherous intrigues of the communists were discovered in our rear. Now, unless

the true members of the Kuomintang take this situation seriously, not only will the entire revolution collapse but the Kuomintang and the nation will be in danger of extermination also. With my clear insight, and after painful, personal experience, I describe the true situation to our loyal members.

According to the casual observer, the present rupture between the Kuomintang and the communists is only a difficulty within the party. It is quite true that except for the intrigues of the communists there is nothing which we cannot settle among ourselves. The members of the Kuomintang are firmly united, but the communists try to alienate us from each other. The Kuomintang is liberal and inclusive in its admission to membership, and so the communists have entered it in order to create a communistic group within the Kuomintang and in order to extend their own influence. The communists have their own organization and their own method of pursuing the revolution.

### HOW THE COMMUNISTS BETRAYED THE KUOMINTANG

At the outset of the Northern expedition, the communists voiced their objections, for they wished to have Kwangtung province completely under their control. They disregarded the misery

of the people along the Yangtze valley and kept a "watchful waiting" policy until conditions became so tense that they could mobilize their troops. Then, too, the communists began the calling of strikes as a hindrance to our military campaign. But at that time the tide was enthusiastically in our favor, and the attempt to check us failed.

They changed their policy immediately, and, under the guise of membership in the Kuomintang, and protected by our army, they tried to undermine our party. One day we captured a famous city after much blood was shed, and the next day the communists seized it by trickery and made a determined effort to exclude our loyal members from participating in affairs of the Kuomintang and in the movement for the emancipation of farmers and workers. In so doing, the communist party tried to become the dominating factor in Chinese politics.

While we were engaged in heavy battles in Kiangsi and Fukien, the communists, understanding that sooner or later Wu-Han (Wuchang and Hankow) would be the capital, created a favorable environment for themselves there so that they might later be able to control the government machinery and have the members of the Kuomintang at their mercy. From the very beginning I advocated removal of our Nationalist seat of government from Canton to Wu-Han; but, owing

to the menace of Fengtien-Shantung armies in northern Kiangsu and the necessity of settling the southeastern provinces first, the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and the General Political Council passed a resolution to move the capital to Nanchang; for, since it was wartime, there were many important issues to be decided by the Central Government without delay.

The communists in Wu-Han, however, ignored the resolution mentioned above, refused to re-organize the Wu-Han branch of the Political Council, and continued to hold their joint conference illegally. They did this under the pretext of "military necessity." The communists threatened to form another central government at Wu-Han in case the capital remained in Nanchang. Taking the grave war situation into consideration and also for the good of the revolutionary cause, I persuaded the members of the Central Executive Committee to go to the conference at Wu-Han, and at the same time I myself resigned from the position of chairman of two of the committees, with sincerity and open-heartedness.

It was thought at that time that the central authorities must have plans for equitable adjustment in order that the Kuomintang forces might be strengthened and the popular revolution brought to a successful conclusion.

Quite unexpectedly, before the opening of the committee conference, the communists secretly planned to create an atmosphere of fear, and at its inauguration they conducted the proceedings with violent methods. General Chen Ming-shu, the commander of the Eleventh Army, who fought bravely in Hunan and Hupeh and who captured Wu-Han with remarkable courage, was compelled to leave Wu-Han. The communists spread the false rumor that General Chen, by my order, was to arrest the members of the Central Executive Committee. General Chen is still alive, and the falsity of these rumors can be disproved readily. Mr. Li Chung-kung (李仲公), chief secretary of the Central Committee, was imprisoned. Others of our true Kuomintang members and officers were killed and imprisoned, and some even committed suicide. More than a thousand cadets in the Wu-chang Military Academy and the Students' Regiment were imprisoned because they were unwilling to be blind followers.

After the close of the Central Executive Committee Conference, the communists alienated Kuomintang members by playing one against the other. Resolutions passed at the Second Central Committee Conference, which stated that communists were not allowed to be heads of central Kuomintang departments, were nominally recognized but secretly violated. They did not

hand in the communists' directory as requested, and they also purposely delayed holding the joint conference of the two parties for the purpose of open consultation.

### THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF BREAKING WITH THE COMMUNISTS

The numbers of communists within the Kuomintang were secretly increased, and with the mask of membership it was hard to distinguish them. Communists were also openly appointed or elected ministers of the government and committeemen of the party, while influential Kuomintang members were unable to attend the conference, for one reason or another. The central military committee was dominated in the same way. Once, the resolutions passed by the Central Executive Committee in Nanchang were entirely neglected; whereas the decisions of the same body at Wu-Han, and under communist control, became inviolable. They claimed that they heightened the power of the party, but in reality they wished to gain the highest authority for themselves.

#### A. BECAUSE OF "MILITARY NECESSITY"

During military operations it is absolutely necessary to have unity of command. Upon the success or failure in military affairs depends not only the



party itself but also the nation. This is the reason why we have been so successful thus far. It has always been difficult and tedious to plan and direct military operations, and I have had to devote my entire energy by day and by night. I regard the centralization of military power as of supreme importance, without attaching any special privilege therein, because it concerns the lives of five hundred thousand armed men and also the welfare of the people over thousands of miles of territory. However, the communists did all they could to estrange our military men and obstruct our military movements. Furthermore, in assuming the name of the military committee, they enticed our soldiers to their side. It is a foolish and a dangerous policy to dictate military orders from a committee which is far away from the front and ignorant of the military developments in the field.

While desperate fighting was going on, the communists withheld provisions and ammunition. They controlled the sources of revenue and passed around the rumor that my expenditure account was a false one. I had given up my life for the revolutionary cause. How could I care for wealth and property? They said that I was unwilling to pay the soldiers and that I held up ammunition, and so they paid and supplied our officers and men directly as a means of inducement. They

influenced our troops many times, just as they did the laborers. More than once they spread the rumor that an understanding had been reached between the enemy and me. All their tricks and schemes were aimed to dishearten our army, and they would have liked to have had us annihilated by the enemy.

The Kuomintang generals, who fought dutifully at the front, were accused of being anti-revolutionists, while the communist office seekers in the rear were praised as revolutionary heroes. Where is the justice in this? How can I direct my army in this way?

#### B. BECAUSE OF PARTY ACTIVITIES

“Party government” is our platform. Under the guidance of experienced foreigners and with their drilled tactics, the communists, though few in number, occupied important positions within the Kuomintang. They excluded all true believers of the *san-min* principles by threats and inducements and admitted those having communistic tendencies. When one sought admission into the Kuomintang he had to show, first of all, his sympathetic attitude towards communists. Thus the Kuomintang becomes virtually a preparatory school for communism. On the other hand, even the old and prominent members of the Kuomintang cannot have their names registered,

Those branches of the Kuomintang not under communist control, the communists have either broken up by using mob power or have dissolved by usurping the central power. These things were considered a matter of course by the Wu-Han Government.

The dissolution of the Kiangsi Provincial Kuomintang and the Canton District Kuomintang was done solely for the exclusion of real Kuomintang members and in order to break up their organizations so that the Third Kuomintang National Convention might be entirely composed of communists. The unfortunate incidents which took place in Kiukiang, Anking, and Shanghai were caused by clashes between the masses and disagreement between branches of the party, despite the fact that the communists charged me in this connection.

Those who followed the communists closely and considered self-interests were called loyal party members, while others were referred to as old-fashioned and incapable. By dominating the Central Executive Committee and controlling the lower branches of the party, the communists, with the financial support supplied by a foreign nation and under the guidance of experienced foreign advisers, were everywhere playing a winning game, and thus making members of the Kuomintang powerless and heartbroken. Dr.

Sun's life work was to organize the Kuomintang with the sole purpose of the salvation of the Chinese, and its impending extermination has been caused by the misconduct of party traitors. In reviewing this fact, I cannot pacify the ever-living spirit of my former chief. If such a condition continues, the existence of the Kuomintang would seem impossible.

### C. BECAUSE OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS

During the transition period, we should do everything in our power to lessen the sufferings of the masses and to promote their welfare through an evolutionary process. The Chinese people consist mostly of farmers and laborers, and we should therefore render assistance in their movements and organizations. Anything pertaining to the farmer and laborer classes was monopolized by the communists. If they could really do some good, what more is there to say? But they have utilized local rioters, rotten gentry, ruffians and rascals, to control the toiling masses and usurp the political power. Some of the prominent figures in the Wu-Han régime were formerly faithful subordinates of Northern militarists, active in the suppression of labor movements. They have suggested to the farmers that they pay no rent and to the laborers that they ask for higher wages. They have stirred up mob

violence and made it a powerful weapon in the political struggle.

We know that the Chinese toiling masses suffer severely, and it is our purpose to better their living conditions. Judging from the fact that China is a world market, Dr. Sun said that the revolutionary method could be used only to solve the political problems and not the economic ones. Soviet Russia, after killing hundreds of thousands of men, adopted the new economic policy. The Chinese population is several times greater than that of Russia and we cannot allow the communists to make China the experimental field for communism and cause millions of our brethren to die without reason.

Our economic policy is systematic and progressive. In the first national convention a resolution was passed prohibiting a high rate of interest on loans to farmers. The plan for establishing an agrarian bank was adopted, but it has not yet been carried out. However, at the third conference of the Central Executive Committee a resolution was passed which called for the cancellation of all debts of the farmers. By so doing they thought they could get the good will of the farmers; but when spring, the sowing season, comes, where are the farmers to get loans with which to buy seed?

In foreign countries the workers pay the unions certain fees, which are expended either to better their living conditions or as a reserve fund in case of a strike; while in China, most, if not all, of their increased wages go to the union, and consequently the union leaders suddenly become millionaires, as is evidenced in Kwangtung and Hupeh. As a matter of obligation, the workers have to pay a large part of their income for the maintenance of the Labor Union Corps. The cost of living goes up and the purchasing power of the workers goes down. The factories and the workshops close and the proprietors take flight. The number of unemployed increases day by day. Social economics and the national industries are on the verge of bankruptcy.

Our aim of liberation of the farmers and workers has been upset by the communists who sink the sufferers into a deep, fiery pit of misery. How pitiful it is! A more horrible thing is that once the local ruffians put on the uniform of the Labor Union Corps, they will abuse the government power immediately and kill innocent persons at will.

In Shanghai, the Labor Union Corps was mostly composed of the disbanded soldiers of Sun Chuan-fang and Chang Chung-chang. On April 13, 1927, the Labor Corps surrounded and attacked the headquarters of the Second Division of the

Twenty-Sixth Army, but they were repulsed ; and, as a result, we captured ninety prisoners, of which forty were proved to be soldiers of Chang Chung-chang under the orders of the communist party. This proves that the communists will do anything possible to ruin the cause of the revolution, even to conspiring with the Northern militarists.

There have been many cases in which they endeavored to suppress the Kuomintang: such as the case of Mr. Chen Tien-fong (程天放), the educational commissioner of the Kiangsi Provincial Government. He was found not guilty but was severely beaten and has been imprisoned until the present time. Furthermore, the party branches under the control of the communists in every district exercised the government power to execute persons without trial, and even the Nationalist officials could not restrain their misconduct. With the exception of the military academy in Hupeh and Hunan and the communist institutions, the universities existed in name only and the middle and primary schools were closed. They adopted the slogan: "To go to school is not revolutionary, and therefore it is counter-revolutionary."

With regard to foreign relations, the Nationalist government policy is to deal with one nation at a time. Although all imperialistic powers are hateful, yet we should not give them the chance

to take concerted action against us. We are not the tool of foreign powers, and we must not let China be entirely surrounded with enemies. The government represents the people, and the people must stand behind the government in foreign affairs. The violence and disturbances conducted by the communists are liable to draw the powers concerned into a united front against us; and, as a natural consequence, China would have to come under the power of a special foreign organization. It is the communists who are to blame for the violation of the government policy in foreign affairs.

Dear comrades, I must inform you that our Kuomintang is in power, our platform is "party government," and we must show the general public that we have the ability to govern the nation with efficiency. At present, under the cover of the Kuomintang, the communists have done much harm. They do not bear the responsibility of their misdeeds; their responsibility rests upon us. Along the Yangtze valley our soldiers have won popularity among the people; but the communists, under the mask of the Kuomintang, have stirred up public resentment. China's only hope at this time lies in the Kuomintang, but the communists have tried to ruin us so that they could claim that they were the only saviors of China. This is a well-known fact. If



such conditions prevail, how can the Nationalist Government continue to function?

### THREE MISCONCEPTIONS

Judging from the current thoughts of members of the Kuomintang, I realize that there are three misconceptions which are the result of the propaganda of our opponents. These ideas are to be corrected.

First, it is commonly said that the Kuomintang is struggling for the welfare of the masses, and therefore, after the revolution has proved successful, the people will not desert the party. This statement is only half true and is rather ambiguous. The "mass of the people" is a collective term, and public opinion can only be expressed through an organized body. If we can teach the people to organize themselves properly, they will follow us closely in order to accomplish the revolutionary work; otherwise we cannot help being deserted by them, even though they are unwilling to desert us. For the last three years, the loyal members of the Kuomintang have been excluded from participation in the farmer and laborer movements or bribed to stay away by the communists. It is exceedingly difficult for the people to recognize the true character of the Kuomintang, and they probably suspect us just

as they do the communists. So it is not quite safe to say that the people would not desert us.

Second, some say that the *min-shêng* principle, which is that of socialization of social and economic organizations, has the same theoretical basis as communism. Dr. Sun founded the *san-min* principles and they were not copied from others. The principle of *min-shêng* does not come from materialism. The class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat are parts of the platform of the communist party. Dr. Sun clearly explained that Chinese industry is still in its infancy and that Marxian methods of revolution cannot be applied in this country. And so he adopted the policy of proper land distribution and limitation of capital as a precautionary measure to prevent the recurrence of the present conditions of European economic development in China. In his lecture, Dr. Sun said that all nations differed in their conditions of economic development, so that problems concerning the people's livelihood must be solved in a different way and that the method of communism is good for the future but not for the present. Such a clear statement should not be interpreted otherwise. Furthermore, the *min-shêng* is an integral part of the *san-min* principles, and it must be carried out simultaneously with the other two—nationalism and democracy.

Third, at present there is a general misconception among the members and the public that the Kuomintang and the communist party ought to join hands against the powerful foes at the front. Some time ago, the communist leaders voiced their opinions to this effect, but the spirit of coöperation depends not upon empty words but upon facts. The things that the communists have done against the Kuomintang have been enumerated above. The more vigorous the oppression by the militarists, and the more bitter the lives of the people, the more rapid will be the increase of communist influence. The communists do not fear the powerful militarists, but they consider the Kuomintang as their bitter enemy because we are preparing to build up a new China and to promote the welfare of the people. Their tactics are to stir up mob violence through wholesale destruction in order to seize political power. Should the Kuomintang be in power, the future of the communists is hopeless. In the national congresses of Germany and France the communists often join hands with the monarchists, and this practice is common in other states. The communists realize that the Northern militarists will be easy to eliminate, as evidenced by the rapid advance of our Northern expedition. As the success of the revolution draws near they feel the more that the Kuomintang is their bitter enemy

instead of the militarists, and so they concentrate all their efforts against us. Furthermore, their foreign advisers, most of whom were in Turkey before, feared that the early success of the Kuomintang would be an evidence of their former experience.

### THREE IMPERATIVE TASKS

It is the cardinal policy of the communists to ruin the Kuomintang in an underhand manner for the extension of their influence, and it is utterly impossible for them to render our loyal members any assistance in the revolutionary work. Any person of common sense can realize the importance of the above statement. Now I shall point out to you some more vital things which we must all endeavor to do.

First, you, the loyal Kuomintang members, must undertake the great task of the revolution energetically. Without, we have the bitter enemies of imperialists and militarists; and within the party, we have the communists who have divided us by their treacherous schemes. We are now in a most difficult position. For the liberation of our people, we must struggle to the bitter end with the imperialists and the militarists. In order to lessen the sufferings of the people during the transition period, and in order to prevent the country from taking the wrong road, we must

struggle with the communists. Not until the militarists are overthrown, the unequal treaties canceled, the communist reign of terror swept away, and the economic problems properly solved, can the revolutionary task be concluded. Our officers and men are now fighting desperately in the field. You, the party workers, should not be deceived by the communists, and you must make your contribution to achieve the revolutionary cause. Otherwise, how can you pacify the living spirit of Dr. Sun and those of our heroic dead?

Second, it is our great responsibility to render assistance for the betterment of living conditions among the toiling masses. Our revolution is for the people. Since the majority of the Chinese people are farmers and laborers, the revolution is for their sake. If their sufferings are increased instead of decreased, the revolution becomes meaningless. Under existing circumstances, if we do not help the farmers and the laborers to organize they will do it themselves, as did the "Red Spear Society" in Honan. The most important problem at present is to help the farmers and the laborers organize and promote their welfare in order to win their good will and gain their support. Otherwise, we shall be their enemies. Many of our shortsighted comrades take much interest in the control of the government machine and neglect the significance of the masses in the realm

of politics. The communists, on the contrary, have monopolized the organizations of the toiling masses. We have to be excluded by the communists from participation in the farm and labor movement. To make up for it, our loyal members must enlighten the farmers and the laborers with regard to the *san-min* principles. This is not the time for us to sit still and talk about high-sounding doctrines. We must take the initiative, march forward, and get the work done. If we do not, there is no way clear for the salvation of China, and of the Kuomintang as well.

Third, we, the true believers in the *san-min* principles, should build a strong defense for our party against malicious internal influences. Those leaders, who are prominent, who have a historical connection in the party, and who are respected by the people, should give up their personal quarrels for the sake of the party. The communists have framed purposely all sorts of terms for us, such as "Left Wing," "Right Wing," "Western Hill Group," "New Right Wing," and so forth. All such terms are nonsense. The term "Western Hill Group" is most deplorable and can be applied to any undesired figure in the eyes of the communists. In fact, if some of the "Western Hill Group" have the desire to be utilized by the communists they can still hold

important positions in the Wu-Han Government. We should ignore all these terms hereafter.

Who are the loyal Kuomintang members and faithful disciples of Dr. Sun Yat-sen? This depends upon whether they are carrying out, according to his will, the *san-min* principles, the "system of national reconstruction," the "program of industrial development," and the decisions of the "first national convention." Dr. Sun consented to admit the communists into the Kuomintang as individuals so that they might participate in the Nationalist revolution. Now they act at variance to the will of Dr. Sun and against the Kuomintang. We must clean them out. Let the true believers of the *san-min* principles cling together for the revolutionary cause.

Since matters have developed to such a stage, we must make a final determination for the sake of our party and for the nation. My determination is based upon the following three beliefs:

#### DECLARATION OF PERSONAL BELIEF

First, I strongly believe that *san-min*-ism is the only principle which can save China. It suits existing conditions in China. It is unitive, organic, and progressive and should not be interpreted in any other way.

Second, I strongly believe that the people of China should decide their own destiny without foreign interference. For the last three years my experience shows clearly that outside help is, after all, unnecessary. The revolution in China is a part of the world revolutionary movement. Upon its conclusion, we cherish the hope of liberating others. We should participate independently and voluntarily in the world movement and not be dragged into it.

Third, I strongly believe that unless we break with the communists the Nationalist revolution will be hopeless. If we allow their horrible politics to prevail, all will be brought to nought. It is our responsibility to prevent them from intriguing in China.

#### DR. SUN'S IDEAS UPON ADMITTING COMMUNISTS INTO THE KUOMINTANG

In admitting the communists, Dr. Sun had the intention, first, to prevent them from practicing their communistic ideals in China and to convert them intellectually to a belief in the *san-min* principles; and, second, to afford them an opportunity to participate in the Nationalist revolution. Now, however, they are making a firm stand against us. Judging from the facts, they are against Dr. Sun's will, and, in ousting them, we are not ungrateful.



A CHARGE TO SUPPORT THE NANKING CENTRAL  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THE NATIONALIST  
GOVERNMENT

At present the Wu-Han Central Executive Committee is full of communistic elements. They make use of reckless youths and notorious politicians as a powerful weapon. By threats and by coercion the faithful Kuomintang men in Wu-Han have lost their personal freedom. The illegal decisions and orders of the Third Wu-Han Central Executive Committee Conference aimed to alienate our comrades, block the military advance, usurp the party power, and ultimately to overthrow the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang Central Censor Committee is the supreme authority of the party and most members of the committee are men of the highest virtue, the intellectual pioneers, the faithful followers of Dr. Sun, and the soul of the Kuomintang. Since they were unwilling to see China ruined and her people deep in suffering, they met in a joint conference at Shanghai and at Nanking successively and declared all the illegal resolutions of the Wu-Han Central Executive Committee null and void. The Wu-Han Committee men were impeached and ordered to cease functioning. So now the central party organization and the

Nationalist Government are established in Nanking. Nanking is the capital of the country as named by Dr. Sun, and so it remains.

#### ADVICE TO KUOMINTANG MEMBERS IN WU-HAN

You, beloved comrades, obey the orders of the government, and I, with all our troops, will take the lead. In many places the Kuomintang has begun to eliminate communist elements. The supreme authority of the party rests in the hands of all the members. The true Kuomintang men are many more in number than the communists within the party. But many of our comrades are so fooled and coerced that their true will cannot be expressed. Now is the important time for us all to make a resolve for action. With regard to the committeemen both in the party and in the government of Wu-Han, some of whom are influenced by one-sided propaganda and others deprived of their personal freedom by coercion, now, at this momentous moment, I call upon them to leave the communists and to come and join us in order to support the Kuomintang and carry out Dr. Sun's will. I have no personal prejudice at all against any one of them.

“PARTY SUPPORTER” INSTEAD OF  
“PARTY TRAITOR”

By the time this “declaration” reaches Wu-Han, the communists will have undoubtedly accused

me as a "party traitor." This I expect, for I have been long accused of this. I do not know which party they mean. If it is the communist party, my answer will be "Yes," for I am their enemy. But if it is the Kuomintang, my answer will be "No," for I am one of its most faithful members. For a long time I have advocated the extension of party power, and this was done for the Kuomintang and not for the communist party. It is indeed a fact that I have struggled for "party government" by the Kuomintang in China.

#### UNITY OF COMMAND

Recently the communists have spread rumors all about saying that I was attempting to be the "dictator of the government," and they have also accused me as a "new militarist." Because they did not examine the facts, not a few of our comrades have been deceived. During the period of general mobilization and military operations, the success of the revolutionary cause depends entirely upon the military campaign. All those who are in favor of the revolution must sacrifice everything for the cause, otherwise they would be "counter-revolutionists." At present we should concentrate as much as possible on the Northern expedition. They accuse me because I am the commander of the army. It seems to me that the concentration of military power in the hands

of one man is of urgent necessity to insure the success of the revolution. While we were fighting desperately in the field against the Northern troops, the communists in the rear enticed our soldiers, made disturbances, held up provisions and ammunition, and did everything within their power to block our military movements. With regard to the line of demarcation between the administration of military affairs and military orders, we made rules for this directly after the capture of Nanchang. The administration of military affairs is in the hands of a central military committee, whereas the military orders are to be issued by the commander in chief. What more have the communists to say? In short, what I am fighting against is militarists, imperialists, communists, and all other wicked and nefarious forces.

I have not the slightest desire for territorial acquisition and political aggrandizement. In accordance with Dr. Sun's will my mission is the liberation of the country and the betterment of the living conditions of the masses. We stand for the grand union of farmers, laborers, merchants, students, and soldiers, and this means the coöperation of all classes of the people; while the communists agitate for the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which is simply mob rule under the present circumstances. We must realize the difference very clearly.

## SUBMISSION TO TRIAL IN CASE OF MISCONDUCT

As the Central Government is functioning in Nanking, the established capital, we must be obedient to it. With regard to party affairs, we must extend its power and clean out the communists. Since the central Kuomintang still has confidence in me I must endeavor to complete the success of the revolution, and then we shall be able to start the constructive project and relieve the people from their sufferings at the earliest date. In case of misconduct, I will submit myself for trial. I make this statement before the living figure of Dr. Sun.

LU SIU-FU AS EXAMPLE FOR EVERY KUOMINTANG  
MEMBER

Since matters have become so urgent, we must take decisive action. The Kuomintang is responsible for a great mission, the salvation of China. If the Kuomintang exists, then China will be saved, and I myself can be alive; otherwise, I will die for the nation and the party. During his lifetime, Dr. Sun personally told me that he expected me to be as faithful, loyal, and brave as Mr. Lu Siu-fu, the most loyal minister to the national cause during the Sung dynasty. I hope that every true member of the Kuomintang will be a Lu Siu-fu himself, and then we shall be able to

accomplish the work of revolution and elevate China to a position of equality in the family of nations. With the Chinese Nationalist revolution accomplished, we have paved the way for the success of the world revolution.

### CONCLUSION

You, faithful Kuomintang comrades and true believers of *san-min* principles, be farsighted and determined to strive for our cause.

Our slogans are as follows:

1. Strong union of true Kuomintang members!
2. Help the farmers and laborers to organize!
3. Don't be office seekers!
4. Be not corrupt!
5. Strict observance of party discipline and orders!
6. Neither "Right Wing" nor "Left Wing," but only followers of *san-min* principles!
7. Watch the "opportunists"!
8. Endeavor to have the party strongly and purely organized!
9. For the liberation of the people, for national independence, but not for selfish ends! .
10. Sacrifice everything for the party!
11. Down with "imperialism"!
12. Down with "militarism"!
13. Put the *san-min* principles into operation!

14. Shame to Kuomintang members if the *sanshin* principles are not carried out!
15. Shame to Kuomintang members if the Nationalist revolution fails!
16. Great success for the Nationalist revolutionary cause!
17. Long live the Kuomintang!
18. Long live the Nanking Nationalist Government!

## IV. MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLE

### THE NATIONALIST REVOLUTION AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE MILITARISTS

The purpose of the Kuomintang, since it is founded on the *san-min* principles, is to promote the welfare of the Chinese people, to free the entire race, and to strive for the equality of all the nations of the world.

Its task, therefore, is to overthrow militarism and imperialism, to eliminate all wicked and violent forces both within and without the country, and to obtain China's independence, liberty, and equality. This is also a part of the task of the world revolution.

For many years our country has been oppressed continuously by imperialism which has invaded our territory, infringed upon our sovereignty, encroached upon our maritime customs, controlled our political and economic life, and even killed our youths (upon such an occasion, for instance, as the massacre of May 30, 1925). Imperialism has also imposed unequal treaties upon us and treated us as a semicolonial possession. Could China still be regarded as an independent and free state?



In addition to this the foreign imperialistic powers utilize the ignorance and the ruthlessness of the Chinese militarists in order to rule China, and they allow the latter's animal instincts to develop to such a degree that they cannot be checked. At first these militarists waged war every few years for selfish ends, then they waged war once a year, and then several wars every year for many years, thereby breaking up social organizations and increasing the sufferings of the people. With the national affairs intrusted into the hands of these incompetent, ignorant, and inhuman creatures, can our people have any hope of existence?

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Kuomintang, was the founder of the Republic of China. Actuated by a desire to save China from the peril of extinction and to give the Chinese people a more satisfactory life, he founded the *san-min* principles, which are: nationalism, democracy, and socialization of economic organization. Unfortunately, however, after forty years of heroic effort, he died for the Chinese people and intrusted, in his will, the loyal members of the Kuomintang and the true believers of the *san-min* principles with the task of the continuation, together with the masses of the people, of his unaccomplished work of Nationalist revolution. Since I took the oath to command the Northern expeditionary

army I have always kept Dr. Sun's ideals as my guide in the struggle with the Northern militarists.

### THE POPULARITY OF THE CHINESE NATIONALIST ARMY

Since it aims for the welfare of the country, the Nationalist revolutionary army is not merely for the people, it is also of the people. Relying upon public support, our army has succeeded at every stage: at first occupying Hunan and Hupeh and overthrowing the reactionary militarist, Wu Pei-fu; then seizing Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, and Anhwei, thereby eliminating the cunning militarist, Sun Chuang-fang; and then capturing Shanghai and Nanking, driving away the brutal militarist, Chang Chung-chang.

Since Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Shensi, and Kansu are now under the glorious flag of the revolutionary army, the power of the cruel Northern militarists has so far decreased that further strong resistance seems impossible. Wherever our soldiers have gone they have met with the coöperation of the people. The soldiers not only cause no trouble among the people but also consider them as brethren, while the people wholeheartedly and voluntarily welcome the soldiers with food and kindness. This shows the popularity of the Kuomintang soldiers among the people.

## THE CRIMES OF THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS

The Chinese communists, having secured membership in the Kuomintang with malicious intent, masked by our party and with the protection of our army, unexpectedly extended their influence everywhere and created a reign of terror through the agency of their secret and treacherous plots. They knew that the Kuomintang had its own systematic and concrete program for national and political reconstruction, so they purposely utilized notorious politicians, ruffians, rioters, and reckless youths, and abused government power in order to prevent the program of the Kuomintang from being carried out. They knew that the Kuomintang supports the peasants' and laborers' movement and pays a great deal of attention to their social and economic condition, and yet the communists employed these treacherous persons mentioned above to harass and oppress the real peasants and laborers.

On the one hand, they excluded the members of the Kuomintang from participation in the peasants' and laborers' movements; and, on the other, they ruined the popularity of the Kuomintang among the toiling masses, so that the welfare of the peasants and laborers has been completely neglected and their sufferings have increased greatly day by day.

In this way are the tactics of the Chinese communists working towards the destruction and complete bankruptcy of the Chinese social and economic state.

With regard to education, the advancement and acquisition of knowledge are hindrances to the manipulation of the masses. In Hupeh, therefore, they adopted the slogans: "To go to school is not revolutionary and therefore it is counter-revolutionary." Under their rule in Hunan and Hupeh education is practically neglected.

With regard to foreign policy, they have rejected the policy of the Kuomintang, which is to deal with a single power first, and they have forced the imperialistic powers into a strong and united front so that China might face enemies everywhere and be forced, in consequence, to come under the grip of a special foreign organization.

With regard to party affairs, they knew that we have maintained the policy of "party government" as China's only hope of salvation; and so they have sneaked into the Kuomintang in order to upset our system, and, by using traitors, to alienate our comrades. On the one hand, they dominated the "central organization"; and, on the other, they controlled the lower branches of the party and excluded the real and loyal members of the Kuomintang from party affairs. Thus

have they tried to make the party Kuomintang in name but communist in fact.

In military affairs, they saw the rapid advance made by our army and feared an early success for the Nationalist revolution which would allow no time for the communist propaganda work when the program of reconstruction commenced, and so they alienated our army comrades, interrupted military movements, held up provisions and ammunition, and did every other embarrassing thing in their power.

These conditions have all been detailed in my "Declaration to the Kuomintang Members," which all persons may read.

In short, they have deceitfully assumed our name in order to commit every possible crime; and they, being the tools of a special foreign organization, have made use of mobs and ruffians, and have put into practice their horrible politics. That is the reason why there is the cry all along the Yangtze valley, "Down with the party men!"

I desire that our people have a clear conception of the "party men." I cannot say that of our million Kuomintang comrades every one is perfect, but the true ones follow our party principles and cannot permit themselves to be misled by the deceitful communist party. Those who do not conform to the *san-min* principles, even though they hold membership in the Kuomintang,

are party traitors and will be punished severely. I hope that the people will not recognize in them the real Kuomintang members.

### THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE KUOMINTANG AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

With regard to the present revolutionary movement, the Kuomintang differs fundamentally from the communist party in the three following outstanding points:

In the first place, we aim at the freedom of the entire Chinese people, hence we require the coöperation of all classes. The dictatorship of one class would leave the other classes unemancipated and create another tyrannical and high-handed rule. Our sincere desire is to have a grand union of farmers, laborers, merchants, students, and soldiers. We firmly believe that China does not need the dictatorship of the proletariat. Furthermore, we believe that if the dictatorship of the proletariat, were practiced in China it would not be a true one but would be a mob rule. Besides, we started the revolution for the people as a whole, whereas the communists do it only for the creation of a dictatorship of the proletariat with the object of destroying social and economic foundations wholesale.

Second, we recognize that the people of China should have the right of self-determination, for

we understand that only we ourselves know perfectly our own interests and the ways and means of dealing with them. The "super-government of the legation quarter in Peking" should not be replaced by a "super-government of Borodin in Hankow."

After our own liberation we ought to help liberate the other oppressed and weak races, for we cherish the hope and glory of fighting the battle of humanity. As the revolution in China is part of the world movement, we should hasten the completion of it. Then we should, independently and voluntarily, join in the world revolution and not be dragged into it.

Finally, we must lessen the sufferings of our people during the transition period; and, as soon as our military success is complete, we must start the work of reconstruction so that society shall have adequate facilities for development. But the communists try to destroy every social order and usurp the political power through mob violence, not counting such a cost as three hundred ninety million lives for the purpose of creating a state of ten million communists to be the tool of a special foreign organization.

#### HOW THE COMMUNISTS ENTERED THE KUOMINTANG

It is true that Dr. Sun consented to admit the the communists into the Kuomintang as indi-

viduals, but not as a unit. So, speaking of it as the "alliance of the two parties" is a misinterpretation of the facts by the communists. In his consent, Dr. Sun had two intentions: first, to prevent them from practicing the communist ideals in China and to convert them intellectually to a belief in the *san-min* principles; and second, to afford them an opportunity to participate in the Nationalist revolution. But this was not done so that they might usurp the party power and dictate the party policy, disregarding the *san-min* principles.

Dr. Sun's policy of coöperation with Russia was made possible only by the Soviet's "equal treatment of our people." It was not to invite Comrade Borodin purposely to hinder our revolutionary progress. The determining factor of whether or not the policy of coöperation with Soviet Russia is to be maintained does not lie with China, but the test is whether or not Soviet Russia can treat us as equals. If Soviet Russia had not changed her policy we could have still coöperated with her. In the world only principles dictate policies, policies never dictate principles.

#### NANKING AS THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

The insidious intrigues of the communist party, whereby they try to destroy the revolutionary army, the Kuomintang, and the nation, have been exposed. At the very outset they fraudulently



placed their members in every corner of our party and then got control of the so-called Wu-Han Central Executive Committee, which enabled them to deceive and threaten our Kuomintang comrades and the public. Our Central Kuomintang Censor Committee could not endure their domination and tyranny, which was leading towards the end of our party, and resolutely exposed the illegal and traitorous actions of the so-called Wu-Han Central Executive Committee, and at the same time urged our Nationalist Government committeemen to assume office at Nanking and with Nanking as the capital.

Historically, Nanking was the capital. It had fallen once and was later reestablished as such by the struggle of our people for independence and liberty.

#### THE DESIRE FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

Those who are at the helm, both of the party and of the state, are mostly men of experience and of the highest virtue, who have advocated the revolution for years and have been respected as intellectual pioneers by the whole country.

As the party power has now been restored, I shall lead faithfully all our revolutionary armies northward. I take the oath to support the Kuomintang to the last and obey its commands, to accomplish the revolutionary work, to eliminate

the sufferings of the people, and to promote the welfare of the country. I trust that all our people, unwilling to see China being ruined by the militarists or by the communists, will come and give us their unanimous and full support.

The movement to "support the party" and to "save China" is at present at its height within the Kuomintang, and this proves the reality of the Kuomintang and the strong will of its members. Now I call upon the people to join us in the struggle for the same cause without the slightest hesitation.

Once more I must inform the whole nation that, considering the present international situation and our changing internal conditions, every class in China must awake immediately and organize thoroughly for positive readjustments. For years, foreigners have believed that Chinese, like sand, lack the capacity for organization. To save the nation is a high and vital mission, and so we must organize ourselves actively and systematically.

### WHAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD NOT DO

You, peasants and laborers, must not be deceived by the communists, but must organize yourselves to assist in the revolutionary work. In accordance with Dr. Sun's program of economic survival, you may plan for your own permanent welfare.

You, merchants, should do the same with all your power and resources, for you must not be so shortsighted as to regard the present as if it were the past, that you need not bother with the condition of the government and society, and that you can do business behind closed doors and disregard conditions. You should not think that the workers' hardships need not be your concern. If the conditions of labor be not improved, how can peace be long preserved? Please assist them voluntarily to better their living conditions.

You, the so-called intellectual class, should give up your "easy-chair" life. Please guide the thought of youth along the proper lines, promote mass education, and apply your special knowledge and technical skill in constructive work.

In order to get rid of psychological weakness, passiveness, and torpidity, all must combine together and work for the revolution. Organization is your strength, work is your salvation. With your spirit and energy the revolution in China will be crowned with great success.

The Chinese people should not consider the split between the communists and the Kuomintang merely as a problem within the party. It is a vital problem which concerns all of us.

A friend of mine, sickened with the trend of current affairs, said that it was still too early to start the movement of opposing the communist

reign of terror; not because the communist crimes have not been exposed, but because our people are not yet fully conscious of their sufferings. Is that really so? I believe not. In Hunan and Hupeh the communists have only just begun the operation of their policy, yet every one feels that life is unendurable. In Hangchow and Shanghai they have only just made a start, yet all are in terror. In Kwangtung, Fukien, and elsewhere, the peasants and the laborers have expressed their grievances in numerous letters and telegrams. We must not wait until the sword is placed over our necks before we cry out.

Besides, the present international situation is not such that it can permit China to be the experimental field for communism without the danger of suffering grave consequences. Other people do not care whether or not the lives and the welfare of our people are at stake, but we do. My beloved fellow countrymen, now is the time to wake up.

Suppose that I should let you be oppressed continuously by the militarists, exploited by the imperialists, and disposed of under the reign of terror of the communists, it would mean that I had deserted my sacred duty as a revolutionary soldier and had become the arch criminal of the age.

If, however, the Kuomintang comrades and soldiers sacrifice themselves for the national cause and still you render us no aid, you not only fail to discharge your duty of citizenship, but you also act against your own conscience.

To guarantee your free and proper development, we have our army; to lead you to organize and to assure you satisfactory conditions for earning a living, we have our party of *san-min* principles, and with regard to your ultimate awakening and earnest participation in the national affairs, that is entirely up to you.

#### THE MISLEADING TERM "NEW MILITARIST"

The communist party has been spreading abroad all sorts of rumors such as "oppression of the toiling masses by the Kuomintang," and "Chiang Kai-shek, the new militarist." These are due to my opposition to its horrible policies. You must not be deceived, and we should investigate the rumors in detail. The temporary surveillance of the communists was ordered because they were hampering military operations, this fact being exposed by the Kuomintang Central Censor Committee. For the safety of our soldiers and of the people it was imperative that their activities should be somewhat restricted during the time of war. This is a military necessity. We detain them only until military operations are

completed, but we have no wish to endanger their lives. This gave rise to the so-called "party imprisonment." With regard to reorganizing the peasant and labor unions controlled by the communists, this is based on the same idea, and at the same time we should give the real peasants and laborers the opportunity for free organization.

We disarmed the Shanghai Labor Union Corps because it attacked our army with rifles and machine guns. On April 13, 1927, the Labor Corps surrounded and attacked the headquarters of the Second Division of the Twenty-Sixth Army, but they were repulsed; and as a result we captured ninety captives, of which forty were proved to be soldiers of Chang Chung-chang under the orders of the communist party. This proves that the communists will do anything possible to ruin the cause of the revolution, even though they conspire with the Northern militarists.

It was from documents of all sorts discovered in searching the Shanghai Labor Union that we ascertained their secret and dangerous plots. The talk of oppression of the toiling masses by the Kuomintang is entirely false. If that is true of us, we are willing to be beheaded. It is a fact that the Kuomintang's opposition to communism is not opposition to peasants and laborers. Now is the best opportunity for the real toiling masses to arise and organize. For your own interests, your

organization must not be neglected. If you do not organize yourselves, others will do it by falsely assuming your name. Free from the communist party's monopolized control all of you have the opportunity of making your own organizations. Within the jurisdiction of our Nationalist Government the emergency measures taken against the communist party would do you, the real peasants and laborers, no harm.

As to their malicious charge against me as a "new militarist" — it is quite ridiculous. Is there a militarist anywhere in the world who fights for principles? What the militarists want is territorial acquisition. Wherever our army has reached, the people have had their own self-government. What the militarists care for is their own skin, and what they spare is their soldiers' lives. From the time when I personally undertook the Northern expedition, I led the army at the front and took no thought of personal danger.

The Chinese militarists get their material and financial support from the imperialistic powers, while I do not. The devoted fighting of our men over thousands of miles of territory has been a sacrifice for principle, but not a sacrifice for me personally. In such a way have I encouraged my officers and men, and in such a way have they stimulated me. So the defamation maligns not only me but also the thirty thousand heroic dead

of our army. If I am guilty of any misconduct I am ready to submit myself for trial and severe punishment by our Kuomintang and by our people. I leave the judgment of my character to the future.

### THE KUOMINTANG AS THE ONLY RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL PARTY

The Kuomintang is a responsible political party, and we cannot allow the communists to wreck it. We believe sincerely that China ought to be ruled by "party government." The governmental system should not be subjected to such rapid change of political thoughts. In order to achieve a good result politically, there must be a class of wise and upright men, with definite administrative ability, who will uphold a sound and suitable principle. The representative form of government has been tried in China and has failed because our people lacked political consciousness, and there is no use to try it again.

We propose to rule China through the party, and then we shall have the system of check and balance in the government by the party and the people. Being suited to Chinese conditions, the *san-min* principles of the party constitute the only channel of national salvation. They are unitary and organic and should be put into operation simultaneously. Imported theories cannot be



compared with them. Moreover, they are favorably accepted by farsighted political thinkers.

At present the Kuomintang is China's only political party. It was organized long before the birth of the Republic of China. It has one million members, able, determined, and comparatively well trained. It has the heroic leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who led the people in the Nationalist cause for years.

To rule China through the party does not mean that all governmental affairs must be handled by the Kuomintang, but only that they must be handled in accordance with its principles, policies, and discipline. We are not like the communists, who are selfish and narrow-minded. We desire to coöperate also with those who are not Kuomintang members. Besides, Kuomintang is a public political party, admission into which is at all times free. Those who take interest in national and party affairs, with the exception of the opportunists, will be welcomed everywhere. With the removal of the communists, the Kuomintang's true face is clear to every one. Come and join us and form a united battle front.

### THREE PATHS FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Only three paths are now open for the Chinese people. One is to return to the rule of militarism as the tool of foreign imperialistic powers and to fight year after year for selfish ends.

The other is to follow the footsteps of the communists under the direction of a special foreign organization with the object of creating a reign of "Red" terror and wholesale destruction, without consideration of circumstances.

Another way is to follow the *san-min* principles whereby the people liberate themselves through deliberate process of politics, self-determination, and self-effort. If the people are not willing to subject China to the military rule, the imperialistic régime, or the reign of "Red" terror, let them join the Kuomintang in order to accomplish the Nationalist revolution to emancipate the Chinese people, and to participate in world revolution.







